

ANNALS OF OXFORD.



VOL. II.

ANNALS OF OXFORD.

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CHAPTER I.

ELIZABETHAN SMILES.

ONE seems to breathe a purer atmosphere on escaping from the Oxonians who covered the Prince Regent with fulsome adulation, and returning to the scholars of the sixteenth century, who rendered to Elizabeth the homage of enthusiastic loyalty on the occasion of her first visit to Oxford after her assumption of the crown. From Antony Wood, the historian of her reception by the children of Alma Mater, the reader gets no revelations of ludicrous obsequiousness and revolting sycophancy. The gownsmen, it is true, testified their reverence for the supreme governor of the land by remaining on their knees whilst her coach passed them on her way from the North Gate, called Bocardo, after the

adjacent prison,—an attitude by no means declaratory in Feudal England of the personal abasement which it implies in Modern England; but, though they observed this requirement of formal etiquette, they appear in all other particulars to have conducted themselves towards their sovereign like intelligent and self-respecting men. Wood speaks heartily of ‘her sweet, affable, and noble carriage,’ but not a word of her ‘condescension’ in deigning to eat meat and drink good wine. And the contrast between the tone of the Caroline antiquary and the Georgian committee of academic toadies is all the more remarkable and significant, because the former was no person to underrate the sacred qualities of loyalty, and lived in times when general usage sanctioned an extreme respectfulness to rank, that had fallen into total desuetude before the opening of the nineteenth century, and when the fashion of addressing princes in what Professor Huber calls ‘flummery’ still prevailed amongst courtiers.

Like her father’s appearances in Oxford, Elizabeth’s visits to the national seats of learning were made with political design and for the furtherance of public ends. In deciding to pay Oxford the same compliment which she had rendered Cambridge two years earlier, she was actuated by a desire to strengthen her party in the ecclesiastical order, and to give the rigid Puritans, on the one hand,

and the Church Papists (as Wood, himself a Church Papist, designates them), on the other, an opportunity of learning from the lines of her resolute, though feminine, face, that the imperious temper of the Tudors was one of the characteristics which she had inherited through a despotic father from an overbearing ancestry, and that Henry the Eighth's daughter was no less strongly qualified to conquer opponents and assert the principles of personal government than the monarch who, after driving the Pope's emissaries from his dominions, had answered the papal menaces with derision.

It is credible that, on announcing her pleasure to pass a few days at Oxford to the Earl of Leicester (Chancellor of the University), to Secretary Cecil, and to the ladies of her Court, she observed in homely terms, with a saucy, wicked, significant smile playing over her thin lips as she spake, 'I mean to let the scholars see that I am not in the humour to stand any nonsense;' for certain it is that her demeanour in the schools was calculated to produce that impression. President Humphrey of Magdalen received a lesson which he did not speedily forget, when, on allowing that Puritan divine to kiss her hand, she observed drily concerning his canonical vestments and the notorious reluctance with which he had assumed them, 'Dr. Humphrey, methinks that gown and habit becomes you very well; and I marvel that

you are so strait-laced in this point,—but I come not now to chide.’ Thus Puritanism received a frown from the haughty lady, who did not fail to seize appropriate opportunities for frowning with equal effect on the scholars who were known to abhor the Reformation, although they had prudently conformed to the new ordering of ecclesiastical affairs. A strangely threatening light passed from her eyes to every one of the group of doctors who pointed out the place where St. Frideswide’s relics and the remains of Peter Martyr’s wife had been interred together.

But though she gave her enemies stern looks that troubled their sleep during many subsequent nights, she overflowed with graciousness to the scholars whose homage had, or appeared to have, the recommendation of sincerity. To the boys, who from their knees hailed her with cries of ‘Vivat Regina,’ as she entered the town, she showed a right joyful countenance, and exclaimed repeatedly, ‘Gratias ago, gratias ago.’ Of the Latin and Greek verses, which the Oxonians had composed in laud of her beauty and queenly excellence, and had stuck upon the gates and walls of the colleges, there was scarce a single set which did not elicit from her lips a few words of special commendation. With not a little of courtly hypocrisy she professed herself inordinately delighted with the series of wearisome

Latin orations to which she was compelled to listen, and with the several disputations in St. Mary's Church and the schools, of which she was the attentive auditor. At one of these tedious exercises in the University Church, Dr. Kennall, the Vice-Chancellor, exercising his moderator's privilege, would fain 'have cut off' Dr. Thomas Whyte, of New College, one of the opponents, because his disputations were too large ;' whereupon Her Highness,—saving the prosy speaker from the sting of an affront which, but for her kindly intervention, would have rendered him ever afterwards contemptible in the university,—proclaimed herself so abundantly gratified by the disputant's good sense and admirably delivered arguments, that she could not permit him to be deprived of liberty to finish his speech in his own way. In which matter, most of my readers will concur with me in thinking that Elizabeth showed herself a considerate gentlewoman.

Whilst thus overflowing with affability to those of the dons whom she had no political reasons for regarding with disfavour, she exhibited to the undergraduates the hearty kindliness of an elder sister bent on making a riotous bevy of younger brothers enjoy a period of festivity. Arresting the lads, as they marched before her with their caps in their hands, she gossiped with them about their homes, proved their quickness in capping verses, and, tickled

into merriment by their frank answers to her reassuring speeches, laughingly told them that they were saucy boys, who needed much more whipping than they got from their tutors. More than one blue-eyed, chubby-cheeked little fellow, she patted with motherly fondness on the shoulder, and dismissed with a kiss and a 'tip' of money, equal in value to the 'half-a-suffran' which George Coriat, Bachelor of Arts of New College, received for his 'pains' in welcoming the Queen and her retinue to that learned house, with a Latin oration.

One of the many pleasant scenes that arose out of her genial and frolicsome intercourse with the younger students, occurred in her lodgings, whither, for her diversion during a few hours of indisposition, was brought little Peter Carew (a child of old Dean Carew's family), who addressed Her Majesty in a Latin speech, that concluded grandly with two Greek verses. Nothing which she heard from the magnates of the schools, in the presence of the Chancellor the Earl of Leicester, the Spanish Ambassador, Secretary Cecil, and all the great lords and ladies in her train, delighted her more than the classic eloquence of this minute toy-doctor, who spoke out before the courtiers in all the confidence of ingenuous and well-disciplined boyhood. She was so pleased that she declared that the child should not be sent away until Mr. Secretary Cecil

had heard him repeat the oration ; and when the minister, in answer to the Queen's summons, had entered the royal presence to hear the speech, she put the little fellow in good nerve and heart by saying, ' I pray God, my fine boy, thou mayst say it so well as thou didst to me just before.' It is agreeable to know that the orator did not break down in the repetition of his performance, and that on being dismissed from the sovereign's presence he ran back to his tutor, elated almost to a phrensy of joy by the gracious words of the Queen and her counsellor.

This pretty incident of the royal visit occurred on the afternoon of Sunday (the day after her Majesty's arrival in Oxford) ; and on the evening of the same holy day, Elizabeth was entertained, as she had been two years before on a Sunday's evening at Cambridge, with a Latin play ; but, instead of imitating the Cantabrigians, who put a profane drama on a stage erected in a consecrated building, the Oxonians gave their performance in Christ Church Hall, which was appropriately fitted up for the occasion with a magnificently adorned scaffold, and a profusion of ' stately lights of wax variously wrought.'

On the evening of the following day, Elizabeth was present at another dramatic performance in Christ Church Hall, when she witnessed the presen-

tation of the first part of 'Palamon and Arcyte,' the English play which Mr. Richard Edwards, a gentleman of the royal chapel, had written for the occasion. But the success of the evening's amusement was grievously diminished by the sudden falling of a part of the stage,—an accident which killed a scholar and two collegiate servants, and inflicted serious injuries on five other persons. Had the mishap occurred on the previous evening, the Sabatarians would have regarded it as the result of divine displeasure at the profane misuse of the holy day. But happening on the evening of Monday, the unlucky incident elicited no fanatical animal-versions; and though the disaster must have materially lessened the enjoyment of the spectators, the actors continued their performance amidst much applause, when the dead and wounded had been removed from the scene of the catastrophe.

The evening of the following Wednesday saw the performance of the second part of Mr. Edwards's play, when, to heighten the effect of a point in the theatrical representations, a highly successful imitation of the clamorous music of hounds running on the trail of a fox was made in the Great Quadrangle of Christ Church, so that it was distinctly audible to the spectators of 'Palamon and Arcyte;' whereupon the undergraduates, who were provided with seats in the windows of their Hall, assisted the repre-

sentation by leaping from their benches and exclaiming, 'Now, now,—there, there,—he's caught, he's caught,'—the imaginations of the boys being so worked upon by the feigned music, that they believed it to proceed from a veritable fox-hunt. 'Oh, excellent!' exclaimed the Queen, 'those boys in very truth are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds.' The part of Lady Emilia in the play—acted, it is believed, by Peter Carew, whose delicate shape and beauty qualified him peculiarly to represent a feminine character—occasioned the house scarcely less satisfaction than the crying of the hounds. When Lady Emilia, after gathering flowers in her garden, sang the song which Mr. Edwards had composed for her, she drew down thunders of applause from the theatre, and won from the Queen the reward of enthusiastic praise and a bounty of eight angels. That evening Richard Edwards had the delicious excitement of a young author's first and complete triumph, and after drinking a cup of wine with his friends he retired to a bed, whereon he dreamt of all the grand services which he would render to the Muses, and all the fame that would come upon him in the after time. But the author's hopes were almost as short-lived as his joy. A few months more, and life's fever was at an end for him.

What need is there to commemorate all the

speeches that were made and all the feasts that were eaten during the six gala days which Elizabeth spent in the university? All such things are to be found in the chronicles of Wood, who has preserved for us the very words of the Latin oration with which the Queen herself concluded the act in St. Mary's Church, and the valedictory words that she addressed to the chancellor and subordinate dignitaries of the schools, when they had conducted her to the outskirts of the forest of Shotover, about two miles from Oxford,—the point where the liberties of the university then terminated.

More than a quarter of a century had elapsed since her first visit to Oxford, when Elizabeth made her second stay of six days in the university,—coming over from Woodstock to Christ Church, with a splendid company of nobles, amongst whom were conspicuous the French ambassador, and her faithful councillor, William Cecil—no longer Mr. Secretary Cecil, but the aged Lord High Treasurer Burleigh, whose descendant, the Marquis of Salisbury, is the supreme chief of the university to which his illustrious ancestor came, in the vigour of middle age and the weariness of declining years, in attendance on the sovereign whom he served with glorious efficiency from the commencement almost to the close of her memorable reign.

In almost every particular the ceremonies of the

first, were repeated at the second, visit. Again the Queen—no longer a woman in the possession of unimpaired health, spirits, and personal beauty, but an over-dressed and battered lady, with wrinkles and paint grotesquely visible on her sunken cheeks, a sense of growing weakness in her limbs, and a weight of gnawing sorrow at her heart,—was received by the authorities of the schools and the town with gifts and speeches. Again, as on the occasion of her earlier appearance before Alma Mater, she walked in state from her lodgings to divine service in Christ Church Cathedral, under a canopy upheld by four doctors of divinity, and between two lines of surpliced students, who exclaimed ‘Vivat Regina’ to the sovereign who, at her second coming to Oxford, was on the eve of the last decade of her existence. Again she frowned on Puritanism, administering to Dr. John Reynolds a rebuke scarcely less severe though something more mannerly than the angry scolding which Elizabeth’s successor gave him at the Hampton Court Conference. Again she displayed her erudition in speeches of Latin and Greek, and sate at feasts provided for her by her loyal collegians. Again she was the auditor of scholastic disputations in which learned men ingeniously, but unintentionally, demonstrated the difference between learning and wisdom.

But the second visit was a poor and spiritless

affair in comparison with the first. The royal lady had made considerable advances in the art of frowning, but she had fallen off so woefully in the art of smiling, that her smiles caused nervous men to look at their shoes; and when she strove to win the hearts of little undergraduates by patting their shoulders, and kissing their smooth cheeks, the boys were scared rather than pleased, and wished that the old lady would leave them alone and keep her bony fingers to herself. But still she retained the faculty of performing graceful acts. Whilst she was delivering a Latin oration in St. Mary's Church, seeing that her old Lord Treasurer was standing on his gouty feet, 'she called in all haste for a stool for him; nor would she proceed in her speech till she saw him provided of one.'


The drollest affair at this second entertainment of Elizabeth was a disputation, in which the physicians debated, 'Whether that the air, or meat, or drink, did most change a man?' in which wordy contest, says Wood, 'a merry doctor of that faculty, named Richard Ratcliff, lately fellow of Merton College, but now principal of St. Alban's Hall, going about to prove the negative, showed forth a big, large body, a great fat belly, a side waist—all, as he said, so changed by meat and drink, desiring to see any there so metamorphosed by the air. But

it was concluded (by the moderator) in the affirmative, that the air had the greater power of change.' Dr. Ratcliff was the Banting of his period ; but, appearing ere the times were ripe for his doctrines, he failed to make converts.

CHAPTER II.

STUART SMILES.

THE domestic politics of England in the seventeenth century may be described as the fierce and universal struggle of religious parties, in which the prelatists of the Reformed Church and the sects to whom that Church was unacceptable contended with varying fortune for the power to silence and persecute their adversaries. Not that this bitter war was restricted to the period in which it was most productive of public feuds and private animosities. Originating in the errors of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy, which, through a desire for outward orderliness, aimed at terminating the agitations of religious revolution before the natural time for their abatement had arrived, it raged furiously throughout the greater part of her reign, and cannot even at the present date be regarded as altogether an affair of the past. But the seventeenth century saw the most violent and disastrous results of the stubborn conflict between the connections of men who in suc-



cessive generations fought for the national church, and the connections of religious politicians who contended for principles antagonistic to the Anglican Establishment.

It was a favourite saying with the Puritans of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate 'that the war, which abolished episcopacy, disestablished the cathedrals, and brought Charles the First to the scaffold, was the 'bishops' war,'—a struggle that originated in religious grievances and had for its object the overthrow of an ecclesiastical government. And though they indignantly repudiated the form of a statement which fixed upon the prelates the obloquy of having occasioned the rebellion, the episcopalians of the seventeenth century admitted the substantial justice of their adversaries' assertion when, by according to Charles the honours of Christian martyrdom, they avowed that the royal martyr had laid down his life *for* the Church in a conflict arising out of politico-religious disagreements.

Deeming it desirable to withdraw popular attention from the true nature of the struggle, our most influential writers and teachers in the last century were accustomed to speak of Charles the First's downfall as the work of rebellious subjects who resented his unconstitutional action in secular affairs, and were incited to insurrection by his

attempts to levy taxes without the authority of Parliament. Partly through the influence of mischievous advisers, and partly through misconception respecting the nature and limits of his royal prerogatives, the sovereign, actuated by innocent and praiseworthy motives, had made some trivial encroachments on the rights of his subjects, who forthwith, clothing their revolutionary and abominable purposes with sanctimonious professions of righteousness and evangelical zeal, avenged their unsubstantial and merely nominal wrongs by destroying a king who at worst had been but little to blame, and laying their sacrilegious hands on the property of an inoffensive and zealous priesthood. It was thus that the writers of histories for use in schools threw a veil over the real character of the social disturbances which an almost obsolete school of politicians conceived it to be their duty to misrepresent. But in proportion as Englishmen of the present generation are enabled to free themselves from antiquated misconceptions, and drive from their fields of historical retrospect the obscuring mists of prejudice, they see that the civil war of Charles the First's England was the thing which the belligerents on either side knew it to be,—a politico-religious contest between the Established Church and its multifarious enemies.

Acting on the impression that it was the policy of the crown to exalt the national church, which the

Reformation had placed beneath the authority of the secular arm, and to repress all religious associations which were likely to embarrass or weaken the ecclesiastical organization of which the sovereign, as the supreme secular power, was the chief governor, Elizabeth was alike stern to the non-conformists, who ventured upon any grounds to resist the rulers of her church, and benignant to the clergy who, whilst discharging discreetly their spiritual functions, offered no opposition to her will. At every period of her reign, jealous for her authority over the clerical order, she was, as we have seen, alive to the importance of maintaining her influence in the universities which the Reformation, by rendering them the principal seminaries for ecclesiastical persons, had endowed with a social dignity and influence which they had never possessed in Catholic times.

It was a necessary consequence of the condition of religious affairs and ecclesiastical interests in the seventeenth century, that the successive English sovereigns of that age were especially desirous to control the national clergy, and for the accomplishment of their designs on the clerical order sought to conciliate the universities by blandishments or win them by coercion. In these respects the two first Stuarts followed in the steps of the last Tudor. No sooner had James the First learnt from personal observation the relative influence of the Puritans

and orthodox churchmen, and satisfied himself that it would not be worth his while to humour the former at the risk of offending the latter, than he threw aside the thin disguise which had momentarily concealed his aversion to the precisians, and, declaring that he would be master of his subjects' souls as well as their bodies, bestirred himself to be pope no less than king of his own dominions. He had not the resoluteness or persistency of purpose to surrender the delights of indolence and the pleasures of sensual indulgence for the arduous duties and sentimental rewards of a sovereign indefatigably laborious in discharging the functions of personal government in Church and State; but though he was for the most part content with boasting about the kingly honour, whilst his bishops attended to the duties, of his royal supremacy, he never ceased to amuse himself by intriguing with bishops and meddling with ecclesiastical affairs.

In like manner his son and grandsons, who succeeded him on the throne, busied themselves in spiritual matters, and for the accomplishment of their very different schemes for the religious welfare of their subjects honoured Oxford with a considerable amount of attention. Successively the champion and martyr of the Established Church, the first Charles established himself in the university during the crisis of his struggle with the Parliament.

Charles the Second, who was a Catholic so far as an inordinately frivolous and sensual man can be said to belong to any church whatever, strengthened the associations of Oxford with his dynasty by repeatedly bringing to her cloisters his counsellors and boon companions, his queen and mistresses. And whilst he found in the pleasant gardens and collegiate chambers of Alma Mater congenial companions and scenes for Sybaritic indulgence, he made his residences at Oxford subservient to his political ends.

Unlike his more agreeable and profligate brother, James the Second was too conscientious to feign affection for a church which he detested, and too superstitious to dare to postpone the formal declaration of his attachment to Rome until he should find himself on his deathbed. Confident of his power to restore England to the Pope by coercing the clergy with threats and deprivations, and influencing them through the universities, the unteachable Stuart, who bartered three kingdoms for a mass, had forced a Roman Catholic dean on Christ Church, and encouraged Obadiah Walker to fit up a chapel in University College for the performance of daily mass, when he was constrained to despatch to Oxford a troop of dragoons to overawe the Protestant students, who were constantly singing in the High Street the ballad that begins with

‘ Old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria !’

A year later three more troops of cavalry entered the University with drawn swords, to enforce submission to the despot's violent usurpations in the seat of learning, whose divines were meetly punished for having preached the slavish doctrine of non-resistance in being goaded to resist the tyrant, against whom, as the Lord's Anointed, it had been declared by the Oxonian pulpiteers that no subject might lawfully raise his hand. •But before James filled Oxford with soldiers,—sent thither to effect Dr. Hough's ejection from Magdalen College, and silence the seditious tongues of turbulent scholars,—he had himself ascertained the impotency of his royal presence to allay the irritations and remove the discontents, which his suicidal policy had occasioned in the city that, of all the cities under his sway, had seemed to him the one least likely to resent his unconstitutional excesses.

CHAPTER III.

ROYAL POMPS AND THEATRICAL SCENERY.

IN Sir Isaac Wake's 'Rex Platonicus'—a copy of which closely-printed duodecimo product of scholastic pedantry is preserved in the library of the British Museum—the reader, who has enough learning and patience to arrive at the meaning of the author's fantastic Latin, may ascertain with what costly pomp the Oxonians received James the First in the August of 1605, when that Platonic King deigned to honour Oxford by smiling on her schools and colleges throughout four festive and sultry days.

Isaac Wake, whilom of Merton College and in his most prosperous days a diplomatic envoy from his Platonic Majesty to divers foreign courts, was the most eminent professor and practitioner of Latin talk in his university, when the first of our Scotch sovereigns appeared in Oxford, to show the South-erners how scholars spoke the classic tongues in parts lying north of the Tweed; and it devolved upon the courtly and fortunate Isaac, acting in the

of fair ladies and brave men, who assembled from almost every quarter of the kingdom at the university, which had become the head-quarters of the Royalists.

In 1636, whilst Henrietta Maria was yet in the hey-day of her beauty and the sunshine of royal prosperity, and little imagined what dark storms were about to break upon her husband's throne and family, Charles paid Oxford a longer and more ceremonious visit to celebrate the Laudian restoration of academic discipline, and speak in commendation of the recently-enacted Caroline statutes, of which mention has been made in a previous chapter.

All Oxford turned out to welcome the royal visitors, who were received by the chiefs of the university and town on the Woodstock Road, whence they were conducted through lines of vociferous gownsmen and populace, and buildings decorated with gay flags and streamers, and scaffolds dangerously burdened with spectators in their holiday clothes, to Christ Church, which house of royal foundation divided with St. John's, Chancellor Laud's College, the chief labours and honours of entertaining the courtly throng. No scholar or person of the town, with health and means to witness the spectacle, was absent from the hilarious and picturesque scene. Every window, and balcony, and roof along

the line taken by the procession was crowded with beholders of every age; and amongst the tiny children who were tricked out in their gayest dresses, and taken to places where they could securely gaze at the pageant, was a three-years'-old boy, who shouted himself hoarse long before his eyes rested for a few seconds on the coach in which Charles Stuart, Henrietta Maria, Charles the Elector Palatine, and Prince Rupert, passed slowly down the rough-paved thoroughfare and under the arch of the great gate of Christ Church. This little fellow was no other than Antony Wood, who in due course became the historian of the university, of which his father was a member, and who did not fail to commemorate in his 'Annals' and autobiographic memoir the delight with which he watched the passage of the royal party from a garden which commanded a view of the line of route. 'The King, Queen, Prince Rupert, many of the nobility and others,' says the autobiographer, 'came from Woodstock into Oxon, a little before which time he' (*i.e.* the writer) 'was conveyed in a servant's armes, with his father and mother, to the lodgings of Dr. Tho. Iles, canon of Christ Church, whence being conveyed to the mount in his garden looking into Fish Street, he saw the K. Qu. and the rest riding down the saide street into Ch. Ch. great Quadrangle. This was the first time he ever saw the said K. and Queen, and the

first time that he ever saw such a glorious Train as that was, which he would often talk of when he was a man.'

The ceremonies and arrangements of this royal reception—in which Laud arrogated as far as possible to himself all the merit and glory of the entertainers' share in the proceedings—differed in some particulars from those of previous celebrations of the same kind.

To impress on the academic community that the presence of the sovereign was due to his influence, and to give *éclat* to his college which, notwithstanding his munificent benefactions to it, had no claim to the King's special notice, apart from the importance accruing to it from the primate's patronage, Laud contrived that St. John's, lying on the outskirts of the town, should play a part in the gala altogether disproportionate to its magnitude and ordinary influence. On entering the city the royal visitors made a stand at the gate of the favoured college, one of whose members delivered an oration to the King; and the greater part of one entire day was passed by the illustrious guests in the same house, where they were grandly entertained with music, a feast, and a dramatic performance.

On arriving at St. John's they 'saw the new building that the Chancellor had at his own charges lately erected. That done, the Chancellor,' says

Wood, 'attended them up the library stairs, where, as soon as they began to ascend, certain musicians above entertained them with a short song fitted and timed to the ascending the stairs. In the library they were welcomed to the college with a short speech by one of the fellows called Abr. Wright. That being done, and dinner ready, they passed from that to the new library, lately built by our Chancellor; where the King, Queen, and Prince Elector dined at one table, standing across at the upper or north end, and Prince Rupert, with all the lords and ladies at a long table, reaching almost from one end to the other, at which all the gallantries and beauties of the kingdom seemed to meet. All other tables, to the number of thirteen besides the said two, were disposed in several chambers in the college, and had men and scholars appointed to attend them to theirs, and the content of all. "I thank God (saith the Chancellor) I had the happiness that all things were in verie good order, and that no man went out of the gates, courtier or other, but contented, which was a happiness quite beyond expectation." When the dinner was ended he attended the King and Queen, together with the nobles, into several withdrawing chambers, where they entertained themselves for the space of an hour. In the meantime he caused the windows of the Common Hall or Refectory to be shut, candles lighted and all things to be made ready

for the play, which was then to begin, called "The Hospitall of Lovers," made for the most part (as 'tis said) by Mr. George Wild, fellow of St. John's College. When these things were fitted he gave notice to the King and Queen, and attended them into the hall, whither he had the happiness to bring them by a way prepared from the presence lodgings to the hall without the least disturbance. He had the hall kept so fresh and cool that there was not any one person when the King and Queen came into it. The princes, nobles, and ladies, entered the same way with the King, and then presently another door was opened below, to fill the hall with the better sort of company. All being settled the play was began and acted. The plot good and action. It was merry and without offence, and so gave a great deal of content, which I doubt cannot be said of any play acted in the play-houses belonging to the King and Duke, since 1660. In the middle of the play the Chancellor ordered a short banquet for the King and Queen, lords and ladies. And the college was at that time so well furnisht, as that they did not borrow any one actor from any college in the university.'

In reference to the religious character of the relation in which Charles, as supreme governor of the Church, stood to the most ancient and powerful seminary of the Anglican clergy, the Primate Chan-

cellor presented to his majesty a folio Bible, bound in velvet and richly ornamented on the covers with the royal arms. So also, to draw attention to the chief object of the famous school of orthodox churchmen, Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' sumptuously prepared for princely use, was given, in the name of the University to the Elector Palatine.

But though the archbishop was at pains to draw exceptional honour to his college, and to give prominence to the ecclesiastical quality of the community for which he had framed new laws, the reception in its most important matters, and the majority of its details, resembled the ceremonious entertainments afforded to royalty by the collegians of previous generations.

The dramatic performances, which Christ Church contributed to the diversions of the festival, were, however, distinguished by a novelty which merits special notice, since it exercised an important influence on theatrical mechanism. The courtiers who disapproved of the stupidity of the 'Passions Calmed; or, the Setling of the Floating Island'—the play which Strode, the academic orator, had composed for the amusement of Charles and Henrietta Maria—were constrained to admit that, though the drama was decorously dull and wearisomely flat, the scholars had hit upon several inventions which would speedily result in a revolution of the

mechanical arrangements of the stage. Besides being furnished with three or four openings on either side, through which the actors passed to or from the boards, the stage erected in Christ Church Hall was fitted with 'partitions much resembling the desks or studies in a library,' which moveable structures occupied the spaces between the passages for the ingress and egress of the actors, and constituted a series of side-scenes. 'The said partitions,' says Wood, 'they could draw in and out at their pleasure upon a sudden, and thrust out new in their places, according to the nature of the scene, whereon were represented churches, dwelling-houses, palaces, &c., which for its variety bred very great admiration. Over all was delicate painting, resembling the sky, clouds, &c. At the upper end a great fair sheet of two leaves that opened and shut without any visible help. Within which was set forth the emblems of the whole play in a very sumptuous manner. Therein was the perfect resemblance of the billows of the sea rolling, and an artificial island, with churches and houses waving up and down and floating, as also rocks, trees, and hills. Many other fine pieces of work and landscape did also appear at the sundry openings thereof, and a chair also seen to come gliding on the stage without any visible help. All these representations, being the first (as I have been informed) that were used on the English stage, and

therefore giving great content, I have been, therefore, the more punctual in describing them, to the end that posterity might know that what is now seen in the play-houses at London belonging to his Majesty and the Duke of York is originally due to the invention of Oxford scholars.'

'Passions Calmed' was acted before the royal party on Monday evening, when the illustrious spectators were so delighted with the new contrivances for scenic effect that they again visited the Christ Church Theatre, on the evening of the following day, after they had witnessed the performance of 'The Hospitall of Lovers' in the hall of St. John's College. But on the occasion of their second visit, 'The Royal Slave,' a comedy written by Mr. William Cartwright of Christ Church, was substituted for the tame and lifeless piece of 'Passions Calmed,'—a change which was all the more acceptable to the Queen and her ladies, as the scholars were provided with another series of sliding scenes for its proper representation. 'Within the shuts,' observes Antony Wood, describing the second performance with agreeable enthusiasm and simplicity, 'were seen a curious temple and the sun shining over it, delightful forests also, and other prospects. Within the great shuts mentioned before were seen villages, and men visibly appearing in them, going up and down, here and there, about their business. The

interludes thereof were represented with as much variety of scenes and motions as the great wit of Inigo Jones (well skilled in setting out a Court Masque to the best advantage) could extend unto. It was very well pen'd and acted, and the strangeness of the Persian habits gave great content. All men came forth very well contented, and full of applause of what they had seen and heard. "It was the day of St. Felix" (as the Chancellor observed) "and all things went happy."

The dramatic tastes of Henrietta Maria were so highly gratified by the new scenery and dresses used in the performance of 'The Royal Slave,' that some six weeks after her visit to the university she requested Archbishop Laud to procure from Christ Church a loan of the attire and scenic apparatus, in order that her own players might act the same drama before her at Hampton Court,—a request that of course was speedily followed by the transportation of the 'cloaths and perspectives of the stage' from Oxford to the royal palace at Hampton.

CHAPTER IV.

OXFORD IN ARMS.

THE Oxonian of the present day may do worse things for himself in the way of intellectual amusement and imaginative recreation, than wander through the courts and gardens of his university, endeavouring to realize the scenes and excitements which made up the life of Oxford during the period to which Bishop Fell recurred in the last year of Charles the Second's reign, when he remarked in 'The Life of Richard Allestree, D.D.' When the war broke out, he '(Allestree) had the benefit of being, instead of one, in several universities; Oxford was then an epitome of the whole nation, and all the business of it; there was here the court, the garrison, the flower of the nobility and gentry, lawyers and divines of all England. And times of action have somewhat peculiar in them to ferment and invigorate the mind, which is enervated by the softness of peace.'

For several generations historical cant has so

consistently and loudly commended the universities for their loyalty in siding with Charles the First during the civil troubles of his reign, that the ordinary reader requires to be reminded that it was the sovereign who espoused the quarrel of the universities, and lost his crown and life by contending against the majority of his people, whose allegiance he would never have forfeited, and might at almost any period of the war have regained, had it not been for his devotion to episcopacy, and for the embarrassments arising from his connection with the episcopal clergy. In the fight between the supporters and adversaries of the Established Church, Oxford and Cambridge—the schools of the episcopal clergy and the nurseries of episcopal sentiment—were of course on the side of the ecclesiastical institutions, from which Charles never withdrew his attachment, though circumstances compelled him to consent to measures greatly prejudicial to them. In going cordially with the crown in the civil struggle the royalist ecclesiastics merely strove for the triumph of their own cause ; and it was less to their own welfare than to the misfortune of the country that they found an ally in the sovereign who ruined himself in their behalf.

But though the gownsmen of Oxford and Cambridge for the most part admired Laud and abhorred the Parliament, it may not be imagined that the

academic populations were altogether without a leaven of puritanical sympathy. Whilst Cambridge contained a considerable minority of scholars, to whom the Earl of Manchester's measures for the government of the university appeared no less defensible and salutary, than they seemed barbarous and hurtful to the authors of the '*Querela Cantabrigiensis*,' Oxford numbered amongst her teachers and learners many academicians who detested the Laudian church-movement and had no affection for prelacy. The peculiar abodes of these Oxonian Puritans were New Inn Hall, which, under the government of Principal Rogers, furnished for a considerable period forty new names annually to Alma Mater's matriculation-book, and Magdalen Hall, which, under John Wilkinson's rule before the outbreak of the Bishops' War, had as many as three hundred scholars on its books, 'of which number,' says Wood, 'were forty (or more) Masters of Art, but all mostly given to Calvinism.' Speaking with characteristic bitterness of these two halls, the same annalist observes, 'The said two places were therefore commonly styled the two nests of Precisians and Puritans.' Nor were New Inn Hall and Magdalen Hall the only scholastic houses that afforded shelter to Oxonians who were known to incline to Geneva rather than Canterbury. In spite of Laud's vigilance and severity against Precisians and scholars

suspected of a leaning to non-conformity, puritanism was continually breaking out in the several colleges of the university.

And whilst the academic population of Oxford numbered several opponents of prelacy, and many scholars who, whilst approving episcopacy, were hotly averse to the high-church party, the 'laics' of the city were almost to a man against the bishops and in favour of the parliamentary reformers of religion. In 1640 and the following year the politico-religious disposition of the town declared itself in tumultuous assemblies and riots, that reminded beholders of the days when the scholars and citizens were wont to slay one another under the walls of the hospices. Inspired with the insurrectionary spirit of the times the townsmen, exclaiming against the tyrannical usurpations of the university, questioned the privileges of the academic officers, insisted on their right to greater powers in the government of the city, sued 'privileged persons' in their municipal court, and flatly refused to fix the prices of candles and other commodities at the vice-chancellor's dictation. In January 1640-1, after preferring to the Lords in parliament what Antony Wood calls 'a malicious and insolent petition,' against the ancient or recently acquired privileges of the university, these contumacious laics rung their great bell in St. Martin's, and would fain have occasioned a san-

guinary riot, in behalf of a disreputable woman, whom the proctor was conveying to the spinning-house. The disturbance was renewed on the following night, to the music of St. Martin's belfry and the indescribable terror of elderly ladies, when the timely intervention of the mayor and the capture of two principal misdemeanants prevented the row from growing to riot, 'although a great number continued in the street making great noises, and inciting others to rise, till about twelve of the clock at night.'

Nor were these the most significant and terrifying indications of the state of laical feeling. When the university petitioned Parliament to preserve the cathedrals,, 'as affording a competent portion in an ingenuous way to many younger brothers of good parentage,' the more outrageous laics were heard to speak derisively of good parentage, and even to suggest that younger brothers should be provided for by an equitable division of their parents' estates. On hearing that Archbishop Laud had been sent to the Tower, the laics exhibited no signs of sorrow;—on the contrary, the beholder would have thought from the radiant cheerfulness of their countenances that some great good fortune had befallen the nation. And when the same imprisoned primate resigned (June 1641) his office of chancellor, the laics, in the diabolical

insolency of their rebellious natures, instead of grieving that the university had lost so exemplary a chief, exclaimed that he had resigned none too soon, and that devout men would have grounds for thankfulness if the next chancellor should prohibit the wearing of copes in the collegiate chapels.

On the outbreak of hostilities between the sovereign and the representatives of the people, Charles the First naturally looked to Oxford and Cambridge for large contributions to his inadequate means for carrying on a war in which the episcopal clergy were so peculiarly interested; and when, in the summer of 1642, he applied to them for substantial help, neither university surpassed the other in readiness to furnish him with pecuniary resources. Whilst the Cantabrigians brought together the cash and plate, which the Rev. Barnaby Oley and his coadjutors succeeded in conveying to the king, after eluding the force that, operating under Oliver Cromwell's personal command, had hoped to intercept the treasure near Lowler hedges, the Oxonians responded with appropriate alacrity to the letter in which the sovereign invited them to lend him money and precious metal at 8 per cent interest. The royal application, addressed to Bishop Prideaux of Worcester, Vice-Chancellor of the University, was in the following terms :—

‘ Charles R.

‘ Reverend father in God, right truly and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas upon a false and scandalous pretence, and which we have sufficiently made appear to be such by our actions and declarations, and by the declaration of our Lords and Councillors here present with us, that we intended to make warre upon our Parliament: Horse is still levied, and plate and money is still brought in against, notwithstanding our declarations and proclamations to the contrary: which hath forced us, with a due regard to our safety and dignity, and to the peace of the kingdome, to desire the assistance of those good subjects for our necessary defence. And whereas our University of Oxford is not only involved in the consequences of such dangerous and illegal proceedings, equally with the rest of our subjects, but by our perpetuall care and protection of such nurseries of learning, we have especiall reason to expect their particular care of us, and their extraordinary assistance to our defence and preservation: These are therefore to will and require you to signifie to that our university, in such manner as shall appear to you best for our service, that any sums of money that either any of our colleges, out of their treasuries, or any person thereof out of their particular fortunes, shall pay to this bearer, Dr. Richard Chaworth, and receive his receipt for the same, shall

be received by us with interest of 8^h per centum, justly and speedily as it shall please God to settle the distractions of this poore kingdome, of which our conscience bears us witness that we are not the cause. And so, not doubting but that our university will herein express her loyalty and affection to us, and that you will to your power assist us, so to hasten these expressions, as the truth of them might not be destroyed by the delay, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Yorke, Julii the Seventh, Anno D'ni 1642.'

Immediately on the receipt of which letter, Convocation unanimously ordered that all monies then lying in the Savilian, Bodleian, and University chests, should forthwith be handed over to Dr. Chaworth, who, in consequence of the order, received from the university chest 860*l.*—a sum that was speedily and largely augmented by the contributions of the colleges and individual academicians. But ere the king had touched the money of his loyal scholars, the Parliament had heard of their proceedings, and taken measures to check the current of supplies that had begun to flow from the universities to the crown. The vengeance of Parliament was soon felt by Cambridge, whose loyal scholars were subjected to a rigorous treatment that precluded them at the commencement of the war from making

their university a stronghold of the royalist party. Nor were the Parliamentarians unmindful of the University of Oxford, though she was more fortunate than Cambridge in being allowed to retain the means of affording embarrassment to her enemies and succour to her friends in the martial struggle. An order was issued from Westminster for the apprehension of Doctors Prideaux, Fell, Frewen, and Potter—*i. e.* the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Dean of Christ Church, the President of Magdalen College, and the Provost of Queen's—in order that they should answer for their 'high crime and conspiracy against the kingdome,' in bestirring themselves to collect the money and plate of the various academic societies, and transmit the said treasure to York, 'for maintaining of warrs against the Parliament and the whole kingdome, and endangering of religion and the liberties of the subject.'

For more than a year and a half the keener politicians of the country had been preparing, with greater or less secresy, for the appeal to arms, which shrewd and far-seeing observers of passing events had declared to be inevitable from the first assembling of the Long Parliament. Even so early as January 1640-1, a body of a hundred and fifty Cavaliers had entered Oxford, and deposited at the Star Inn a quantity of arms and other ammunition,

which occasioned a terrifying rumour amongst the Oxonian Puritans, that the murderous Papists were at their old tricks, and were bent on blowing up the city with gunpowder. But on the appearance of the Royal Proclamation (dated at York, Aug. 9, 1642) for the suppression of the rebellion under the Earl of Essex, there no longer existed amongst the adherents of either party any need or power of concealing their belligerent purpose. Regiments were openly levied, and drilled in every part of the kingdom.

Antony Wood was a schoolboy in his tenth year when this proclamation was read in the Oxford market-place, on Saturday, Aug. 13, 1642,—a proceeding speedily followed by military operations and excitements, that put a stop to the ordinary exercises of the superior schools, and so completely turned the heads of the children in the grammar-forms, that no threats or punishments could induce them to fix their attention on their tasks. To put the university in a condition to repel any Parliamentary forces that might be sent against its members, Dr. Pinke, of New College, Dr. Prideaux's deputy in the vice-chancellor's office, summoned all the privileged men and their servants to appear before him in such armour as they could provide for the protection of themselves and the interests of learning. The men who mustered for review in obedience to this summons presented a motley and

grotesquely various aspect. Some were furnished with complete suits of armour, and marched into the schools' quadrangle with soldierly pride in the brightness of their steel and the efficiency of their martial appurtenances. But many a valiant militiaman appeared with helmet and pike, but no breast-plate, or with a serviceable musket, but no defensive accoutrements for his head or body. Together with raw serving-men, sent by their masters to trail a pike or carry a rusty gun at the review, there appeared comely undergraduates equipped for the display with swords of costume and cumbrous pistols.

But the military practice had not continued for many days before Alma Mater could point with pride to a strong and soldier-like corps. On the fifth day after the public reading of the proclamation, the available force of scholastic fighting-men, including scholars, collegiate and aularian servants, and the private servants of prosperous graduates, numbered three hundred and thirty; and ere forty-eight more hours had passed, the levy had attained the strength of four hundred and fifty men, divided into four squadrons—two of musketeers, one of pikemen, and a fourth of halberdiers. To bring this considerable and rapidly increasing force into order, and qualify it to act against experienced soldiers, the authorities found officers who sedulously

trained the recruits to march and countermarch, to handle their weapons with dexterity, and wheel to right or left in unwavering lines. The quadrangles of Christ Church and New College became drill-yards, and resounded from morn to night with the exhilarating music of fifes and drums. Through rain and sunshine the soldiers daily took long 'marches out' in the neighbourhood of the university; and, leaving broken kettles to leak, and promising to repair the implements of peaceful industry at a more convenient season, the smiths of the town were incessantly employed in making pikes, repairing fire-arms, and relieving helmets and cuirasses of the consequences of neglect. Other precautions also were taken for Alma Mater's safety. On the countryward end of Magdalen Bridge a barrier of long timber logs was erected to prevent hostile horsemen from entering the city; and at the other extremity of the viaduct there was constructed a gate for the embarrassment of unwelcome visitors. Loads of stones were conveyed to the top of Magdalen Tower, in readiness to be hurled down upon any hostile force that should succeed in forcing the bridge. The other gates of the town were rendered extraordinarily secure with posts and chains; and an engineer, making a commencement of the military works which were soon to encompass the city of learning, set a numerous body of workmen to dig

'a crooked trench in the form of a bow' across 'the highway at the end of St. John's College walks next the New Park, to hinder the entrance of any forces that should come that way ; at which place, as also at the East Bridge, was a very strict centinell kept every night.'

Whilst Parliamentary troops were known to be passing through the country from London to Banbury and Warwick, and companies of Roundhead troopers scoured the Midland shires, every day had its exciting rumour or alarming intelligence for the Royalists of the university ; but the first sharp and universal panic which the scholars experienced after withdrawing their attention from the subtleties of logic to the difficulties of military drill, originated in the surprise and terror of the sentinels, stationed along this same crooked trench, who mistook for a hostile force the two hundred troopers, who had been sent by Charles the King to protect his devoted collegians, and direct the measures for putting Oxford in a defensible condition. But though Sir John Byron, the colonel of the troopers, entered Oxford with the King's commission to provide for its safety, and met with an enthusiastic reception from the majority of the gowmsmen, so soon as they had ascertained his friendliness, he suddenly evacuated the town after a lapse of some ten or twelve days, on hearing that Lord Say was approaching

the university with a considerable army. Upon the whole Sir John's brief stay with Alma Mater, which for a moment occasioned the loyal students lively satisfaction, affected the university prejudicially; for when his troop trotted out of Oxford, it was swollen with nearly a hundred well-mounted recruits, Oxonians of wealth and influence, whom the war-fever, co-operating with the force of strong political convictions, had inspired to throw aside the gown and enlist as volunteers in the first regiment of cavalry that had appeared in their High Street, since the commencement of the* war.

Scarcely had Sir John Byron's troopers departed, when the inhabitants of Oxford were informed of the approach of Colonel Goodwin's Parliamentary troopers, who would speedily be followed by the new Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, Lord Say. Goodwin's troopers conducted themselves with orderliness, but their Puritanism broke out in derisive comments on the painted and idolatrous windows of Christ Church Cathedral, and the various Papistical devices which adorned the buildings of what the soldiers were pleased to call the arch-traitor Laud's nursery for mass-priests and Jesuits. Two days later appeared Lord Say, whose stay in the university gave the Oxonian loyalists an extremely unacceptable foretaste of the discipline which, a few years later, they endured at the hands of the re-

bellious and regicidal Parliament. Lord Say cannot be said to have treated the university with harshness. On the contrary, it has been charged against him that, had it not been for his leniency to academical malignants, and his culpable remissness in forbearing to plant a garrison in the town, in accordance with the entreaties of the Puritans of New Inn Hall, Oxford would not have become the stronghold of the Royalists after the battle of Edgehill. But, though innocent of violence or oppression towards the schoolmen, the Parliamentary peer occasioned lively chagrin and vehement exasperation to the dons, whose colleges he disarmed and searched for plate, and to whose military works he rendered the compliment of ordering that they should forthwith be destroyed.

One anecdote, taken from many authentic and reliable stories of a similar kind, is sufficient to illustrate the vexatious and comical ways in which the loyal scholars exhibited their contempt for Lord Say's authority during his occupation of their university. To none of the colleges which he ransacked for arms and treasure was the Lord Lieutenant more acrimoniously disposed than Christ Church, which, as the principal college of the malignant university, and as a house which had distinguished itself by zeal in raising the subscription for the royal exchequer, appeared to the Puritan peer chiefly account-

able for the political feeling of the academic community. After a tedious search the guard of musketeers, appointed to relieve Christ Church of the contents of its treasury, came upon the strong chest which they were bent on rifling. Even then it was not till they had spent several minutes, and exerted their strength and mechanical ingenuity in breaking open the iron-plated box, that the irritated soldiers contrived to expose its interior, when to their rage they found lying at the bottom of the strong receptacle—a single groat and a halter. The humorous collegian who, after withdrawing the collegiate purse from its usual resting-place, and in lieu of the abstracted treasure had provided the iron safe with a piece of rope and a hangman's fee, was Richard Allestree, whose important and courageous services in behalf of the exiled Stuarts secured for him the provostship of Eton on the restoration of Charles the Second.

After this unsatisfactory inspection of the Christ Church chest, the visitors went to the deanery, where they gathered into a particular room all the plate and other valuable chattels which they designed to remove from the malignant college. Having thus put the spoil into a strongly-locked apartment, they retired to their quarters for the night, confident that on the following morning they should find the booty where they had placed it. The event, however,

failed to justify their confidence ; for on revisiting the deanery at an early hour of the next day they discovered that some enemy, possessing duplicate keys to the dean's lodgings, had entered the residence during the night, and abstracted the chattels which they had been at so much pains to collect. On learning that Allestree was the person who had thus baffled and held them up to ridicule on two separate occasions, the military inquisitors took the precaution of arresting the Royalist divine before they renewed their search for the property which had so vexatiously escaped from their custody.

Having learnt the necessity for caution and vigilance, the Parliamentary officers continued their search for arms and treasure in a more methodical manner, stationing guards at the gates of the contumacious colleges, and at the doors of private dwellings, whose inmates were known to be enthusiastic supporters of the royal cause, so that articles of value could not be removed from them. Magdalen, Merton, New, Corpus, Christ Church, University, and other colleges, were speedily deprived of their plate and military munitions. To replace the scholastic volunteers, who were disbanded and relieved of their weapons, Say and Sele enrolled a regiment of citizens, who displayed significant alacrity in offering to bear arms in behalf of the Parliament. And having thus reduced the scholars to impotency, and

put them under the foot of the town, the Puritan commander, whose head-quarters were at the Star Hotel, illuminated the street in front of his temporary residence with a bon-fire of books and pictures, gathered from the churches and the houses of the Church Papists.

Having thus taken possession of Oxford, it was of course the intention of the Parliament to retain it in their hands : but the military exigencies of the crisis interfering with the designs of the Westminster Council, Lord Say was compelled to relinquish the stronghold of learning and loyalty, and hasten to the field with the forces which during his occupation of the university had become a small army. President Rogers, of New Inn, speaking in the interest of the academical Puritans and their civic allies, implored the commander not to retire from the city without leaving in it a garrison sufficiently strong to secure it against the Royalists, and to protect godly and well-affected persons from the violence of the malignants. But Say and Sele had no power to comply with the reasonable request of the Puritans. After addressing the two parties of Oxonian residents, in language calculated to depress the Cavaliers and inspire the Parliamentarians with confidence in the ability of Essex to drive their antagonists from the field, Lord Say withdrew his soldiers from the city,—after having destroyed the inadequate

military works of the Royalist soldiers. The greater part of the plate collected by his searchers was restored to the colleges from which it had been taken, on the understanding that they would produce it for the use of the Parliament whenever they should be required to do so. Christ Church alone was so unfortunate as not to recover her plate from Lord Say, who punished her vexatious opposition to his authority by carrying off that portion of her treasure which it had cost him so much trouble and annoyance to lay hands upon. But whilst thus generous to the colleges, in respect to their plate, the Puritan peer was careful to place beyond their reach the arms and warlike munitions which he had taken from the gowusmen, and of which the Parliamentary soldiers were in urgent need.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAVALIERS IN OXFORD.

WHILST the more sanguine supporters of the Parliament were congratulating themselves on the fight of Edgehill — or Keynton Battle, as it was for a while more generally called, — the survivors of the Cavalier army, which had fought in that stubborn and sanguinary contest under Charles's personal observation, were marching into Oxford, with a gallant show of triumphant satisfaction with a battle, in which they had taken some seventy colours from the enemy, and had inflicted such losses on the Puritan army, as left the Roundheads in no condition to follow up the dubious advantage which they magnified boastfully into a signal, though indecisive, victory.

The king and his two sons, Charles and James (lads who, even in the days when Oxford had mere children on her roll of students, were almost too young for undergraduates), Prince Rupert, who had commanded at Edgehill, and Prince Maurice, were in the van of the Royalist forces, that entered the

university on the 29th of October, 1652, with a prudent display of the colours recently taken from Roundhead regiments, and to the tunes of military bands whose music combined, with the acclamations of the fickle mob, that had cheered Say's troopers a few weeks earlier just as uproariously, to stir the hearts of beholders, and inspire them with confidence in a cause whose defenders could look so bravely and rejoice so theatrically. At Penniless Bench the mayor of the Parliamentary borough offered his sovereign fair words, which Charles was too wary to believe, and money which he was very glad to pocket; and at Christ Church the monarch in arms, at the head of his not vanquished army, was appropriately received with Latin talk and the usual observances of ancient etiquette. Henceforth, till the capitulation, Oxford was a camp rather than a seat of learning.

The soldiers of the royal army were billeted on the colleges and the houses of citizens. The twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, which the king had brought off from Keynton-field, were driven, to the grove of Magdalen College, which became the chief barrack of the artillerymen, whilst New College was converted into a magazine of arms and furniture. Undoing whatever remained of Say's military operations, the Royalists disarmed the citizens and restored weapons to the loyal scholars, who

forthwith reconstituted themselves in companies for the king's service. Competent engineers bestirred themselves to surround the city with defensive works, and in order that their undertakings might not fail through want of labour, stringent orders were issued by which gownsmen and townsmen were constrained to work with pick and spade, or pay money that would find efficient substitutes to work for them. Christ Church became the king's palace, whence the ordinary occupants of studious chambers were required to retreat, so that his majesty's courtiers and counsellors might have quarters befitting their dignity. A powder-mill was set to work at Osney; and New Inn, from which President Rogers's Puritan students had fled to the country on the approach of the Cavalier army, was appropriated to the moneyers and mechanicians of the same mint, that had for several years minted silver for the king at Aberystwith, and subsequently at Shrewsbury and York. On her arrival at Oxford, in the following year, Merton was assigned to Henrietta Maria,—or Queen Mary, as she was universally called by her loyal adherents and the commonalty of the country. After the opening of the first law-term of 1642–3, the Lord-Keeper heard causes in the Convocation House, whither the custodian of the royal conscience brought the Great Seal, which the Parliamentarians had counterfeited, after the

well-mounted and tippling braggart, Elliot, had conveyed the *Clavis Regni* from London to York at full gallop. Sir Thomas Aylesbury, as one of the Masters of the Court of Requests, sat at the same time in the Natural Philosophy School, to hear the applications and adjudicate on the claims of suitors. And when, a twelvemonth later, the perplexed and unteachable king summoned his faithful Lords and Commons to deliberate with him on the affairs of the nation, the Lords were provided with a chamber in the schools, and the representatives of the Commons with seats in the Convocation House, to which places for debate and legislative enactment the two branches of the Cavalier parliament retired, after they had listened to the gracious speech which his Majesty delivered to them from his throne in Christ Church Hall.

No sooner had the Cavaliers taken possession of Oxford than Royalists of all ages and both sexes, and every degree of gentility, flocked to the university from nearly every quarter of the kingdom,—but chiefly from the midland and southern shires. Clergy ejected from their benefices by Parliamentary violence, Royalist squires whose manor-houses and farms had fallen into the hands of the enemy, peers who, after trimming between the rival factions, determined to take their chance with the party which comprised the majority of the high aristo-

cracy, soldiers of fortune eager to make professional capital out of the national troubles, boys burning with chivalric enthusiasm for a sovereign contending against rebellious subjects, wives and mothers tortured with anxiety for the welfare of their impoverished families, and girls too ignorant of adversity and too much elated by the excitements of new events and novel experiences to realize the sorrows of the crisis or see what grounds their parents had for dejection. Of such various kinds were the gentle people who betook themselves to Oxford, with all the money, plate, and other portable treasure on which they could lay their hands, before setting out from the homes to which many of them never returned. Not a few of the refugees reached the university in a condition of impoverishment which rendered them sources of weakness rather than of strength to the population of the overcrowded city. But the poorest of them made a brave effort to endure misfortune cheerfully, and derive amusement from their calamitous plight. A few days after Peter Heylyn arrived at Oxford in his coach and horses, which had conveyed him from Hampshire to the schools, he was asked by an acquaintance on what he contrived to support existence. 'Horseflesh and old leather,' replied the Royalist divine, who had sold his carriage and animals to raise funds for his immediate exigencies in a

city where all the necessities of life had become very dear.

It might be supposed that, under the cares and distractions of a period which loaded him with vexatious business and weighty cares, Charles had neither the time nor humour to smile upon learning; but on the first day of November, following his arrival in Oxford, there was celebrated in compliance with his orders a pompous creation of more than two hundred graduates, whom he was pleased to invest with the insignia of scholarship, in his inability to endow them with more substantial gifts. Eighteen doctors and forty-eight bachelors of divinity, thirty-four doctors and fourteen bachelors of civil law, five doctors and eight bachelors of physic, seventy-six masters and twelve bachelors of arts, were thus made out of the courtiers and adventurers whom the sovereign's misfortunes had gathered to the schools; and in the confusion which attended this wholesale manufacture of unlearned scholars, towards the close of a dismal November day, Wood assures us that 'some were so impudent as to thrust themselves (when it grew dark) into the hands of him that presented, to be created, being not all mentioned in the catalogue of those that were signed by the king.'

For awhile every Royalist fugitive from the shires on reaching the university, if he had not previously obtained academic rank, solicited the sovereign for

a letter, requiring the vice-chancellor to confer a specified degree upon the bearer, who would thereby acquire the dignity of a graduate in addition to the privileges of academic affiliation; and the king, nothing loth to confer favours which cost him nothing but the trouble of writing his signature, gratified the applicants for scholastic rank so indiscreetly, that on Friday, Feb. 3, 1642-3, he was petitioned by convocation to refrain from an exercise of his prerogative which threatened to lower Oxonian honours in public estimation. Whereupon Charles ordered that henceforth 'no scholar, intending to make benefit of his degree, should have any recommendations from him, or, if recommended, should thereby have or enjoy any honour or benefit of any degree, unless he should be found capable of the same by the statutes of the university, and give caution to perform his exercises and pay all usual fees.'

But, apart from the wholesale creation of Latinless graduates, the scholastic business of the university languished and almost ceased soon after the entry of the Cavaliers. A few scholars, whilst discharging their military duties, found time to perform the ceremonies requisite for the attainment of degrees; but in the three years, from 1643-4 to 1645-6 inclusive, only one hundred and forty-nine students, less than fifty *per annum*, assumed the B. A. hood and title. Lectures ceased to be delivered

in the public schools; acts were no longer celebrated; and before Henrietta Maria's arrival in the university, in July 1643, there was not a tutor in Oxford who had a class of sophists to instruct. Even so early as November, 1642, the New College Grammar-school for children was removed from its old quarters to the dark choristers' chamber at the east end of the Common Hall, in order that the cloister and tower of the college might be used safely as a gunpowder-magazine; and at the opening of the next year several of the children, who had hitherto attended the school, were sent out of Oxford to places where they might be educated with a regularity no longer attainable in Oxonian classrooms.

Neglect of learning prevailed throughout the university, where work over books was exchanged for toil in the trenches, and attendance in collegiate chapels was no longer required of undergraduates who complied with martial discipline in learning the exercises of the drill-ground. The students for the most part vacated their rooms within collegiate walls for lodgings in the town, in order that the colleges might afford accommodation to the wealthier of the Cavalier visitors who, by the large rents which they paid for comfortable quarters, enabled the principals and fellows of the scholastic houses to render the heavy sums which they were required

to furnish for the defence of the city and the prosecution of the war. Nor were the colleges singular in deriving pecuniary gain from the Cavalier aristocracy, whose disbursements enriched the civic tradesmen, who, whilst behaving with prudent submissiveness to the court in arms, secretly favoured the Parliament.

In the first week of June, 1643, it was ordained that every scholar or other person, lodging in any college or hall, being of an age between sixteen and sixty years, should labour personally on the public works one entire day per week, or pay twelve pence to the royal treasury for every day that he avoided his appointed share of the general toil. And on June 21, 1643, ' His Majesty, for the better furthering of the fortifications, did desire and require the principal governor of every college to appoint one or more of the officers or servants of the colleges, upon notice given to them of the day from the commissioners for working, to give notice to all scholars and lodgers in the college, to observe their day, and to deliver a true note of their names to the commissioners under their hands, to appoint one in every college to collect the monies of the defaulters, and pay it over to the treasurer appointed to receive it, and a true note of those that neither work nor pay for their defaults. Half the colleges and the halls were to work on Monday, and the

other half on Tuesday, from six to eleven in the morning, and from one to six at night, and every person to bring his tool with him.'

Though the above order makes it clear that the collegiate and aularian residents were not altogether innocent of a disposition to shirk the toil of making trenches and earthworks, there is good reason for believing that the defaulters were seldom gownsmen. The scholars — alike tutors and undergraduates — appear to have set an example of military zeal and punctual industry to the promiscuous multitude gathered with the town. Wood assures us 'that from the beginning of the war' till the capitulation of Oxford, 'the generality of the scholars were very loyal to the crown, and did the best and most exact service of any during the time that Oxford was a garrison;' and that 'there were several also of them that were not only officers of the garrison, but also in the king's army, disposed in several places in England, who for their loyalty to the last ought to have their names commended to posterity.' And, writing in the same spirit and to the same purpose in *The Life of Richard Allestree, D.D.*, Bishop Fell observes: 'Having recovered a little strength, he' (*i. e.* Allestree) 'was engaged to employ it in military service, the exigence of his Majesty's affairs calling for the aid of all his loyal subjects, and in particular the scholars; and accordingly a regiment

of them was raised, who served as volunteers without any pay or reward, and performed all duties not only in the garrison, and sallied for the defence of it in case of attacks and sieges, but were also commanded upon parties abroad, and endured the fatigue of marches and ill-treatment of mean quarters, differing in nothing from the poor mercenary soldier besides their civility and justice to the country-folk while they stayed with them, and paying them at departure: things so unusual, that when, at their going off from quarters, they offered their landlords money, they imagined it was done in jest and abuse, and at last, by finding it left with them, were convinced that it was done in earnest. In this regiment Mr. Allestree, though a master of arts and fellow of the college, thought it no disgrace to carry a musket and perform all the duties of a common soldier, forward upon all occasions to put himself into action: and in this service he continued until the unhappy end of the war.'

At the time of its capitulation, the Oxford garrison comprised 'three auxiliary regiments, consisting of gentlemen and their servants, scholars, citizens, and inhabitants, who were not properly of the garrison in pay;' one of which regiments was the Caroline 'Devil's Own,' composed principally of the lawyers and their servants, whose original colonel was Lord-Keeper Littleton.

But though Oxonians went in heartily for the perilous excitements and labours of warfare, enduring privations patiently, and distinguishing themselves by gallantry in the field, it is certain that they suffered deplorably from the demoralizing pleasures of camps and the influence of a discipline which permitted them to seek in certain most pernicious kinds of license a compensation for the hardships entailed upon them by the rigour of martial government. Many a lad who had been a studious and virtuous undergraduate before the battle of Edgehill died of delirium tremens, or contracted incurable habits of sottishness before the dispersion of the auxiliary regiments. When Antony Wood returned (in the autumn of 1646) to Oxford from Thame, where he was put to school soon after Edgehill fight, he heard gloomy stories of the havoc which war had made with the morals of the academic youth. 'After his return to the house of his nativity,' says the annalist in his autobiography, 'he found Oxford empty, as to scholars, but pretty well replenished with Parliamentary soldiers. Many of the inhabitants had gained great store of wealth from the court and Royalists, that had for several years continued among them; but as for the young men of the city and university, he found many of them to have been debauched by bearing armes and doing

the duty belonging to soldiers, as watching, warding, and sitting in tipling-houses for whole nights together.'

In like manner, describing the condition of the scholastic youth at the close of the war, the same writer observes, in *The Annals*:—'Those few also that were remaining were, for the most part, especially such that were young, much debauched, and become idle by their bearing arms and keeping company with rude soldiers. Much of their precious time was lost by being upon the guard night after night, and by doing those duties which appertained to them as bearers of arms, and so consequently had opportunities, as lay-soldiers had, of gaming, drinking, swearing, &c., as notoriously appeared to the Visitors that were sent by the Parliament to reform the university. The truth is, that they (I blame not all) were so guilty of those vices, that those that were looked upon as good wits, and of great parts at their first coming, were, by strange inventions (not now to be named) to entice them to drinking, and to be drunk, totally lost and rendered useless. I have had the opportunity (I cannot say happiness) to peruse several songs, ballads, and such-like frivolous stuff, that were made by some of the ingenious sort of them while they kept guard at the Hollybush and Angel, near Rowley, in the west suburbs; which, though

their humour and chiefest of their actions are in them described, yet I shall pass them by, as very unworthy to be here, or any part, mentioned.' When we find a writer, who abhorred the Parliament and detested the Roundheads, speaking thus severely of the dissoluteness and depravity of the lads who spent their money, strength, and health in the King's service, we may be sure that their misdemeanours defied the arts of palliation.

Whilst the war proved thus destructive of the morality, it was not less injurious to the finances of the scholars, who, in addition to the heavy payments drawn from them by taxation, were compelled to send to the Mint whatever articles of plate they were known to retain in their possession. The silver which Lord Say had remitted to the colleges on withdrawing his troops from the university was all paid to the King's moneyers; and besides many hundreds of pounds of the precious metal thus absorbed by the factory of coin, the scholars and private individuals connected with the scholastic houses placed at the King's disposal their drinking-cups and other articles of the same metal, which they had received as heirlooms from their ancestors, and had hoped to transmit as heirlooms to their descendants.

For more than two centuries it has been the fashion of writers to applaud the colleges for thus

generously, and of their free-will, making over to the King an amount of treasure which, it is implied, they would have been allowed to keep had they been less loyally disposed. In the same manner the private contributors have been extolled for patriotic munificence and disinterested devotion to their sovereign's cause, because they subscribed to exactions which they were powerless alike to avoid or to resist. There is, however, abundant testimony that these eulogies are misapplied. In the struggle, which was far more their own quarrel than that of the King, the Oxonian ecclesiastics naturally helped to their utmost the sovereign who had sacrificed so much for them, and in spite of his reluctant concessions to the Puritans was known to be at heart a cordial approver of Laudian principles. Small credit for unselfish loyalty is due to the men who in lending to the King were merely giving to themselves.

The case of a considerable proportion of the private and laical contributors differed from that of the majority of the clerical subscribers. Even when they were sincere adherents of the Crown, they had not those personal and substantial interests in the quarrel which would have necessarily disposed them to fight it out to their last shilling. But though their material concern in the struggle was comparatively trivial, they were constrained to give no less largely than the partisans who had provoked the

contest which was being fought especially in their behalf. In plain words, they were stript of their silver chattels; and their plunder was none the less positive and galling, because a courtly fiction represented that they gave out of benevolence what was taken from them by force,—or, to speak precisely, what they knew well would be taken from them by force if they ventured to assert their right to retain it. The Stuarts were clever in disguising their extortions with specious words. An illegal seizure of money they called a benevolent payment, an arbitrary extortion they termed a loan. And when the object was to raise funds for the Civil War. Charles and his Queen regarded themselves as having an indefeasible right to pounce on everything that came within the reach of their hands, so long as they declared themselves merely the borrowers of the appropriated articles, which they would of course repay at their earliest convenience. When Henrietta Maria took possession of Boynton Hall, the seat of the Puritan Sir William Strickland, on her way from Burlington to Oxford, she repaid her entertainers by walking off with a quantity of plate, which she had no more right than any other depredator to appropriate. The terms with which the royal freebooter dressed up this act of open plunder, perpetrated in the absence of the owner of the property, are recorded by Sir William's descendant,

Miss Agnes Strickland, who appears to reflect with pleasure on the Queen's condescension in thus 'borrowing for his Majesty's use' what no one then present at Boynton Hall was authorized to lend her. At Oxford, plate was borrowed in like manner, on the understanding that it ~~was~~ taken only as a loan which would of course be repaid with interest on the first suitable occasion. With a conciseness that is not without a ring of asperity, Antony Wood records how the gifts made to him by his godfathers and godmother at his christening were swept off to New Inn by the executors of his Majesty's commands. 'This yeare,' says the autobiographer, under date 1643, 'the plate which had been given to A. Wood, by his godfathers and godmother, which was considerable, was (with all other plate in Oxon) *carried by his Majesty's command* to the mint at New Inne, and then turned into money to pay his Majestie's armies.'

Charles's proclamation for establishing the mint at Oxford was dated Dec. 15, 1642, in anticipation of the arrival of the waggons and carts which, on the third day of the following month, brought to the university the plant and workmen of the coining establishment which had for some time been at work at Shrewsbury. Other coiners and tools for minting money arrived from York; and with all possible expedition the manufacturers of cash went to work in New

lun, under the direction of Thomas Bushell, formerly the farmer of the royal mines in the principality of Wales, the initial letter of whose surname appears on some of the coins uttered by the Oxford mint, which was (as we have before observed) the Welsh mint transferred to the English university. Of the money that issued from this establishment the greater part bore the design of the Welsh or Prince of Wales's Feathers,--a mark that indicated at the same time the history of the factory and the nationality of the principal workmen. The money also bore other signs of the circumstances of its manufacture. A crown-piece issued by the master of the New Inn mint has the word 'Oxon' under the King's horse, and a view of Oxford surrounded by entrenchments. The 'B' of Richard Baylie, President of St. John's College, appears on much of the silver put into circulation in 1644; and though some of Thomas Bushell's coins are of fine execution and sterling value, the coarseness and metallic impurity of others indicate the difficulties which the mint-master experienced in getting fresh supplies of skilful workmen, and the expedients to which the scarcity of silver and the King's urgent need of money compelled him to have recourse. But of all the distinguishing marks visible on money that proceeded from the New Inn mint, none is more characteristic of the crisis or familiar to Englishmen

of the present day than the legend, 'Exurgat Deus Dissipentur Inimici: Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered,' which appears on the coins popularly designated 'exurgat money.'

Mint-master Bushell having planted his mill and machinery at New Inn Hall, the King on January 10, 1642-3, sent letters to the colleges and halls, requiring that they should without delay send their plate to the mint, so that it might forthwith be converted into money. It is scarcely credible that a copy of this demand was served on the society of New Inn, where the coiners had established themselves, and no scholar remained who could be regarded as the official representative of the Puritan nest. In the absence of President Rogers and his precise pupils, who had withdrawn from Oxford on the coming of the Cavaliers, the society of New Inn had for the time ceased to exist, whilst the Royalist government held possession of its building. Antony Wood, therefore, must have been animated by a spirit of scornful and vindictive irony when he remarked that New Inn distinguished herself from all the other scholastic houses of the university by forbearing to send plate to the mint of the distressed sovereign.

The other academic houses, acting probably in accordance with the prevailing sentiment of their members, did what they would have been forced to do,

however much they had wished to do otherwise. Charles gained possession of the silver which Lord Say had imprudently restored to the colleges. Christ Church had lost her domestic plate, but she sent to New Inn the sacred vessels and silver ornaments of her Cathedral Church. The plate deposited at the mint on January 20, 1642-3, by Christ Church, Jesus, Oriel, Queen's, Lincoln, University, Brasen Nose, Magdalen, All Soul's, Balliol, Merton, and Trinity, amounted to 1610 lbs. 1 oz. 18 dwts. Pembroke and Wadham, young colleges that had not yet arrived at the dignity of owning a plate-chest, had no silver goods to contribute: but the loyalty of the Pembrokians and Wadhamites is beyond suspicion. Exeter College alone was affected by doubts whether she could conscientiously give up the plate of which she was merely the trustee; but these scruples having yielded to the pressure most likely to dissipate fanciful notions concerning the sovereign's right to do whatever he liked, the society of the tender consciences followed in the wake of the other scholastic houses, and conveyed to New Inn, February 2, 1643, plate amounting in weight to 246 lbs. 8 oz. 1 dwt. At the same time individual contributors, with doleful countenances, surrendering on loan what they can scarcely have hoped ever to recover, yielded 701 lbs. 10 oz. 9 dwts. of silver. Thus the exaction drew to the

royal coffers nearly two thousand five hundred and sixty ounces of plate, an amount so inadequate to the royal needs that it is difficult to mention it without a smile. Small though it was, this forced loan, however, afforded considerable aid to the Cavaliers who fought in days when a little money went a long way.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRIETTA MARIA'S TRIUMPH AND OXFORD'S
CAPITULATION.

SOME of the gloomiest and most anxious days of Charles the First's life were passed during the interval between the battle of Edgehill and Henrietta Maria's arrival in the university, which he had entered with all the external signs of triumph and confidence, and from which he eventually retreated in the garb and disguise of a gentle serving-man, riding behind his master. The loyalty of the scholars and the brave assurances of his principal adherents could not disguise the gravity of the crisis, or blind him to the probability that the struggle into which he had drifted would prove alike disastrous to his crown and his family. Not that events had altogether dissipated the delusions which had brought him thus far to his ruin. In moments of comparative elation — or rather, let us say, in moments of comparative freedom from depressing anticipations — he still regarded himself as

the viceregent of the Almighty, and derived an increase of resoluteness from the fond conceits which encouraged him to believe that the impious rebellion of his misguided subjects was nothing more than a transient social distemper, which would yield to remedial treatment and the force of their natural affections. For why had he been endowed with regal divinity, and appointed by the Creator of the universe to be a king of men, if his divine quality and the authority of his sacred commission were of no avail against the directors of a wicked insurrection?

Two years of stern and startling experiences had, however, wrought such a change in the baffled King that in the absence of the Queen, whom he feared scarcely less than he loved her, he would fain have made such terms with his adversaries as would have given them the substance of their demands, whilst depriving the regal office of no salutary privilege or real honour. But though his evil genius could not approach his council-chamber personally, she was near enough to him to be well aware of his hesitations in despotic stubbornness and his inclinations to prudence, and to counteract the influence of his more judicious advisers and his own wiser deliberations. Knowing how much alliteration aids a scornful tone in firing weak natures to insolence, she had styled the Lords and Commons assembled at Westminster

‘the perpetual Parliament;’ and she declared that, though no one surpassed her in longing for peace, she would consent to no arrangements for pacification which were not precluded by ‘the disbanding of the perpetual Parliament.’ Writing from the north, she threatened to leave England for ever, and settle in France, if her husband presumed to make peace with the rebels and disband his army before there had been brought about ‘an end of this perpetual Parliament.’ And whilst approaching Oxford, in her memorable march from York to the university, the ‘she-majesty generalissima,’ as she delighted to describe herself, at the head of an army of three thousand infantry and thirty companies of cavalry, ridiculed her husband’s cowardly apprehensions, and disdainfully insisted that he should ‘do what he had resolved upon.’

Elated by the results of her visit to Holland, exulting in the manifestations of loyalty which her residence in Yorkshire had occasioned, and intoxicated by the more brilliant than material successes which her activity and cleverness and beauty had brought to the royal cause, the wilful and overbearing woman was in no humour to listen to moderate proposals, when Charles marched forth in gallant array from Oxford, and met her in Warwickshire, hard by the field where the battle of Edgehill had been won by both of the opposed

armies. Prattling gaily about the incidents of her military progress from the north, as though the civil war were little more than a court-pageant got up by law-students for her amusement, she protested that she would not lay aside her sword until she had driven the Roundheads from Westminster, and taught the chiefs of the perpetual Parliament a lesson which neither they nor their descendants should speedily forget. The Queen of England was the daughter of Henry Quatre of France, and the rebels should rue the day when they took it into their stupid noddles that they could make her less than a queen. Was there any man who heard her and dared advise her to make peace with the insurgents on terms that would be derogatory to her honour,—and her husband's? And of all the men who listened to the petulant and fascinating creature, whilst she poured forth her pretty bravados, none was less able to curb her spirit and give her the light of common sense than the puzzled, faint-featured, stammering gentleman whom wifely duty vainly enjoined her to obey.

Her sons, Charles and James, had accompanied their father from Oxford to Keynton Vale, when the weak husband and ungovernable wife met again after a separation of about seventeen months; and, when the King's guard of troopers had ranged themselves, with the escort that had attended the she-

generalissima from Stratford-upon-Avon, Henrietta Maria saw that the military pomp of her public entrance into the university would not fall short of the splendour and picturesqueness proper to so momentous an incident in her royal career.

From the preparations for her reception nothing had been omitted which could give expression to the loyalty of the university, and the delight with which the Oxonians welcomed her to Merton. 'The soldiers,' says Wood, 'were placed on each side of the streets with their muskets charged, as well to enlarge as guard their passage; and behind them every house near which she passed was thronged with spectators to behold her. In the first place went the carriages for the removal of the court: then followed the servants' troop, commanded by Sir Will. Killigrew: after them his Majesty's gentlemen pensioners, and others of their Majesties' servants and domestic officers, the trumpets and the loud music all sounding as they passed along; next came the heralds in their embroidered coats, of whom Garter, coming last, was accompanied on the right hand by the mayor of Oxon in his scarlet, and mace upon his shoulder. After them came serjeants-at-arms, bearing maces: and next, immediately before their Majesties, the Earl of Forth, lord-general of his Majesty's army, and the Earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain of her Majesty's house-

hold. Prince Rupert and the Duke of Richmond rid on that side of the coach on which their Majesties sate; and in the rear of all followed the gentlemen of his Majesty's troop. At Quateryois, through which she passed, the citizens entertained her with an English speech, delivered by Mr. Timothy Carter, the town-clerk, in the name of the city, and presented her with a purse of gold. At Christ Church she was received by the vice-chancellor and heads of the houses in their scarlet. From thence she was conducted by the King to Merton College, by a back way made for that purpose through one of the canons' gardens, another belonging to Corpus Christi, and then through Merton College Grove. When she came to her lodging (that belonging to the wardens of the same college) she was entertained with an oration by Strode, orator of the university. That being done, a book of printed verses in Latin and English, which were made by the students of the university to welcome her arrival into England, were, with a rich pair of gloves, presented to her in the name of the university.'

Notwithstanding the scarcity of precious metal, the moneyers at New Inn produced,* in honour of the occasion, a silver medal adorned with artistic devices and a legend which represented that the rebellion was at its last gasp, and that their Majesties, who had met under favourable omens

in Keynton Vale, July 13, 1643, were objects of especial concern to the sun, moon, and stars. On the obverse of the medal a dragon, symbolical of impious insurrection, lies dead at the feet of the royal pair; and the inscription on the reverse describes their meeting as an 'omen of victory and peace.'

From July 13, 1643, to April 3, 1644,—a period little short of nine months, during which, Charles, after neglecting opportunities and rejecting overtures for an amicable settlement of affairs with the 'perpetual parliament,' saw his prospects lose that delusive appearance of returning prosperity which had helped to subject him to his wife's disastrous counsels against thoughts of peace.—Henrietta Maria resided over a court in Merton College, whither the gentlewomen of Cavalier families hastened to bask in the smiles and dread the frowns of their impulsive and capricious mistress. It was at Abingdon, on the latter of the above-mentioned dates, that Charles took his last farewell of the wife, whom he loved as passionately as weak men usually love the women whose insolence and rashness bring them to ruin. Strangely had Henrietta altered for the worse in outward aspect during her sojourn in Oxford. She had entered the university in the brightness of beauty and the full play of buoyant spirits. An anxious, sorrow-stricken woman, broken in pride and

bodily health, she was scarcely recognizable as the 'she-generalissima,' who marched triumphantly from Yorkshire to the midland counties, when she journeyed unostentatiously from Abingdon to the west country, whence, after enduring acute sickness at Bath, and giving birth to a princess at Exeter, she escaped to her native land, where, upon the death of the fond husband for whose destruction she was in no small degree accountable, she was thankful to hide her grief and shame in a convent.

After the Queen's departure for the west, the decline of Charles's fortunes was rapid. Marston Moor, the second battle of Newbury, and the decisive battle of Naseby reduced the Royalists to a condition of weakness and defeat from which no efforts, possible to their shattered and demoralized troops, could raise their cause; and before two full years had elapsed since he had torn himself from Henrietta Maria at Abingdon, the fallen monarch saw that for all practical ends his desperate game of resistance had been played out, though a few of his more stubborn adherents might protract the bootless struggle for months or even for years. On May 5, 1646, he surrendered his person to the Scotch army lying before Newark, an event speedily followed by the capitulation of the Oxford garrison.

Numbering some five thousand soldiers, strongly entrenched and occupying a powerful city, possessing

thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, seventy barrels of powder, two powder-mills, and provisions for an eight months' siege, the garrison of Oxford was in a position to command honourable terms, when it consented to surrender to the greatly superior and rapidly increasing forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax. And though the fall of their stronghold occasioned much bitter dissatisfaction to those of the scholars and other Cavaliers who, over-rating the strength of the fortifications and the means available for the defence of the city, murmured against the surrender, none of them could deny that the Royalist commissioners had done their best to relieve the submission of the ignominy of defeat. By the fifth of the 'Articles concluded and agreed for the surrender of Oxford and Farringdon,' it was stipulated, 'That Sir Thomas Glemham, Knight, Governor of Oxford, with his servants and all that to him belongs, and all officers and soldiers of horse and foot, and of the train of artillery (as well reformed officers and soldiers as others) with their servants, and all that pertains to them, shall march out of the city of Oxon, with their horses and compleat arms that properly belong unto them, proportionable to their past and present commands, flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier to have twelve charges of powder, match and bullet

proportionable, and with bag and baggage, to any place within fifteen miles of Oxford, which the governor shall choose, where such of the common soldiers as desire to go to their own homes and friends, shall lay down their arms, and shall be delivered up to such as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, shall appoint to receive them.' By the same article it was further declared, 'That those of the three auxiliary regiments, consisting of gentlemen and their servants, scholars, citizens and inhabitants, who are not properly of the garrison in pay; and such reformed officers and soldiers who shall not be willing to march forth, shall not be forced to march out by this article, but shall have the benefit of the following articles, to remove or remain in Oxford, and in all things also which may concern them; and those also, who shall march forth, shall have the benefit of the ensuing articles in all things, except for remaining in Oxford.'

Seldom has Oxford seen a more dismal day than June 24, 1646, on which the Cavalier garrison went through the humiliating ceremony of surrendering to the victorious Parliamentarians. From the early dawn till the close of the long summer's day it rained violently and incessantly, so that of the drenched and miserable infantry who marched from Magdalen Bridge to Shotover Hill, between two lines of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops, the soldier was

an exceptionally fortunate fellow who preserved a serene mind under afflicting circumstances. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, together with the nobility and principal gentlemen of the garrison, had ridden out of the town on the morning of the previous Monday. Other Cavaliers of high degree, attended by their servants, had trotted out of town on the following day. These two separate parties of retiring Royalists, added together, did not fall short of three hundred horsemen. The two thousand soldiers of the auxiliary regiments, escaping the degradation of the public 'march out,' remained in their quarters till the conquering force had taken possession of the city, when, on laying down their arms in compliance with the terms of the treaty of capitulation, they were supplied with 'passes,' authorizing them to travel to their various homes in different parts of the kingdom, or were permitted for a while to live quietly within the liberties of the university. Moreover, on the day of the general evacuation, between five hundred and a thousand Cavaliers,—private persons who, without being enrolled in regiments, had aided in the defence of the city, and enlisted soldiers, who wished to retire through the north-gate on their way towards Yorkshire and Gloucestershire,—were allowed to leave the captured stronghold without contributing to the principal spectacle of the surrender. But more than two thousand

fighting-men moved over Magdalen Bridge in the presence of the Puritan chiefs, and towards Shotover between lines of Roundhead infantry, to the music of their drums and trumpets, and with whatever display of colours was practicable under the torrents of rain which beat against every outstretched banner, and caused every streamer to hang dolefully against its staff.

Towards the close of this rainiest day of an unusually rainy summer, the infantry who had thus quitted the loyal university entered Thame, drenched to the skin, weary, and befouled with mud. Antony Wood, then an inmate of the Thame vicarage, whilst he learnt grammar at the free-school of the town, conversed with several of the poor fellows, the majority of whom lost no time in plying the only trade for which they had a taste in the service of foreign powers. 'In the evening of the said day,' the annalist says in his autobiography, 'many of the king's foot-partie, that belonged to the said garrison, came into Thame, and layd down their armes there, being a wet season. Some of whom continuing there the next day, A. W. went into the towne to see them. He knew some of their faces and they his; but he being a boy, and having no money, he could not then relieve them or make them drink; yet he talked with them about Oxford and his relations and ac-

quaintance there; for the doing of which he was checked when he came home.'

The particulars of the Cavaliers' march out of Oxford were recorded by an eye-witness, whose description of the affair was addressed to Speaker Lenthall and printed for the information of the public by the order of the House of Commons.

'On Wednesday the 24th of June,' says this special correspondent of the seventeenth century, 'the citizens surrendered. The enemy marched out about twelve of the clock, being a very rainy day. A guard of our foot was appointed for them to march through, which extended in length from St. Clement's, near Maudlin Bridge, to Shotover Hill. The horse were drawn up into several bodies at other places. Those of the enemy who marched out in a body, well armed and with flying colours, and drums beating, were two thousand and upwards, besides officers, who received no injury in their march through, nor the least affront; which the governor, Sir Thomas Glenham, hath since acknowledged, much for the honour of the army. The forerunners of those that marched forth, and the stragglers that came afterwards on the same day, being the most of them horsemen and private persons engaged in the seige, were near five hundred men. There likewise marched forth this day at the

North Gate all those that went to Yorkshire and Gloucestershire, and those parts, who had a convoy for that purpose, being a considerable number. When Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice went forth on Monday, and those that followed on Tuesday, (when other men of quality left this city), there were in all about three hundred persons, most of them of good quality, since we came into the town. It hath been the continual employment of some, in the making of passes for those that were not left behind, and not marched out of the town with the body, there having been above two thousand passes made since we entered, of which there is a particular list of every man's name kept, there being many of them noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of quality, the rest officers, reformadoes, and some scholars. Likewise since we came into the town, the three regiments of auxiliaries, consisting of two thousand men, have been disbanded, and their names brought in. There are yet great numbers in that town, both officers, and soldiers, and strangers, that have not yet received their passes. Those that marched out upon Wednesday, about nine hundred of them laid down their arms when they came to Thame, and received passes to go to their several houses, and their arms were brought into Oxford: one thousand and one hundred of them listed themselves for foreign service. We found in the Magazine seventy barrels of

powder ; besides they had two mills which supported them with powder. There were in the town thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, whereof twenty-six were brass. For provisions of victuals I cannot give you a particular account, only this is general, That by what we found in the stores, and by what we are informed they had in the store before they sold it to the townsmen, during the treaty, to raise moneys to pay their soldiers, there was not lesse than six moneths' provisions. The souldiers were much discontented, and much ado there was to preserve the lords whom they accused for being the occasion for delivering up the town. For the strength of the works about the town, they are such, as I think any knowing man in martial affairs will say it was for your service the town was taken by conditions, especially considering what unseasonable weather hath followed : for, if we had continued the seige but to this day, we should have been forced to have quit some of the leaguers already made, the fields having been overflown with water. I have been with several of your acquaintance here in town, who were provided till Christmas with provisions, and do affirm that for corn, beef, salt, butter, and cheese, there was plenty for the said time : fresh meat for the great ones being the only thing complained of as a great want, and yet we found some store of that at the surrender. The general no sooner entered

Oxford, but he called a council of war, and ordered his forces several wayes: four regiments to Worcester, two to Ragland, and two to Wallingford, which otherwise he could not have spared, had not the place been reduced: We may say truly, and you will so too, That it was a great mercy of God this place^e was so timously regained, considering what blood might have been spent about it, if the way of force had been taken: and more treasure it would have lost than the estates of those within would have satisfied.

‘ Sir,

‘ Your humble Servant.

‘ *Oxford,*

‘ *June 16th, 1646.*’

On the first day of the next month this narrative of the fall and evacuation of Oxford was printed and published by Edward Harland, at the order of the Commons.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SAINTS TRIUMPHANT.

THOUGH the Oxonians of Elizabethan England and Stuart times learnt to regard royal visits with pride and gratulation, they continued to regard the inquisitions of imperial authority with suspicion and abhorrence, as dangerous and despotic interferences with their vested interests and rights of self-government. Each of the successive batches of royal visitors, who entered Oxford in the sixteenth century with powers to reform the university, accomplished work that was remembered by gownsmen with bitterness long after its doers had descended to the grave.

But of all the visitors, appointed by supreme government to ascertain and correct academic abuses, none appeared so wicked and abominable to the scholars whom they ventured to punish, as those Parliamentarian inquisitors concerning whose doings Antony Wood remarks, ‘Such cruelty was there showed, such tyranny acted by the clergy-visitors,

and such alterations made by them, that never the like (no, not in those various times from King Henry VIII. to Queen Elizabeth) was ever seen or heard of. Many good wits were ejected, which, for want of improvement in any academical way, were soon quite lost and drowned. Others also lost that learning they had by seeking after a bare livelihood, or by suffering extreme misery either at home or in foreign countries, and all done for conscience-sake and the king, now a captive, and ready to receive the fatal blow from his subjects. But least these their sufferings should stand unrecorded to posterity, hundreds of silver and brass medals were made at the charges of some expelled, and dispersed into divers countries. On one side was the effigies of an altar, and this wrote on it, 'P. M. Acad. Oxon. 1648,' and on the reverse this, 'Deo, Ecclesiae, Principi, Victima.' At the same time also were the said words weaved in black ribbon with silver and gold letters, and commonly worn in hats by scholars and others: but so distasteful was it to Cheynell, that seeing a scholar going out of St. Mary's door before him (after sermon on Sunday) with a bunch of it tied in his hat, cocked, did with great fury snatch the hat from his head, pull it thence with disdain, tear or cut it in pieces and throw to the scholar his hat again.'

When Cheynell, one of the Puritan divines, commissioned by the Parliament to labour for the conver-

sion of Oxonian *malignants, and one of the clerical* visitors, on whose harshness Wood reflects, thus visited his wrath upon a wearer of the academical badge of loyalty, the scholars, who had sided with the vanquished king, were offering futile and irritating resistance to the emissaries of the *ipso facto* government, instead of conciliating them by such expressions of outward submission as they might have rendered without any ignominious sacrifice of principle to triumphant force.

That the loyal scholars are to be condemned for taking the only line of action which appeared to them compatible with fidelity to their sovereign, no generous observer of their imprudent conduct is likely at this date to suggest; but in fairness to the men, whose resentment they provoked, and whose severities they denounced, it must be borne in mind that the victims of the Parliamentary inquisition left nothing undone that was calculated to exasperate their adversaries and goad them into the adoption of a merciless policy.

If the 'beloved saints,' as the loyal Oxonians termed them decisively, were peremptory, overbearing, cruel, the gownsmen, ejected from their collegiate preferments by the authority of the 'blessed parliament,' were not innocent of studied insolence and undignified contumaciousness to their oppressors. Instead of meeting their enemies with

manly resoluteness and proper courtesy, not a few of the Caroline doctors and their academic followers had recourse to paltry quibbles, petty evasions, and puerile impertinences in their vain attempts to bring the visitors to a stand-still. At the time, they were firmly convinced that their conduct would cover them with glory, and command the admiration of posterity : but no Englishmen of the present generation, capable of rightly appreciating their honourable motives, and properly commiserating their misfortunes, is unwilling to believe that, so soon as the blinding heats of contention had subsided, they reflected with dissatisfaction on many features of their opposition to the Parliamentary commissioners. The ludicrous and painful scenes, which preceded and attended Mrs. Fell's forcible ejection from the deanery of Christ Church, are affairs on which it is impossible for any generous reader to reflect without regretful disapprobation of the resistance with whose general characteristics the lady's unfeminine and injurious stubbornness was in perfect harmony.

The disdainful answers of haughty dons, and the flippant contumacy of impudent students, stirred the resentment of the beloved saints, and strengthened them in their determination to purge the colleges of every principal, fellow, and undergraduate, who should decline to conform to the new

order of things ; and no one can deny the merit of thoroughness to the manner in which they accomplished their work, when after many hesitations and delays they proceeded to carry out the instructions of Parliament.

When Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke—whom the Cavaliers ejected from the Chancellor's office in 1643, to make room for William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford—re-entered Oxford in the character of supreme governor of the university, he was attended by his sons James and John, his grandson, the Earl of Carnarvon, a numerous retinue of gentlemen of high quality, and an imposing cavalcade of horsemen, who had ridden out from Oxford and met him at Abingdon. Troops accompanied him in such numbers that Wood, whilst ridiculing the pageant as contemptible, mean, and unworthy of an Oxford Chancellor, allows that the concourse of soldiers and civilians was mistaken for an 'army' by the country people between Abingdon and Oxford, who certainly would not have made such a blunder so soon after the civil war if the procession had been the insignificant gathering of country parsons, place-seekers, and officials which the Chancellor's detractors declared that it was. 'The visitors of the university went forth,' says Wood, 'to meet the Chancellor as far as Abingdon. Sir Nathaniel Brent, Dr. John Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Corbet, rode

in a coach together; Mr. Rogers and the other visitors, some heads of houses, the proctors elected by Parliament, a few country parsons who had brought their sons for fellowships, and divers scholars that were seekers after preferment, rode on hackney horses. When the whole company met at Abindon, there were above an hundred horsemen that drew themselves up in two divisions as wings to Pembroke's coach, in the spacious market-place there.' That the justices of Oxfordshire were not inadequately represented in the cavalcade the annalist reluctantly admits; and he further informs us that 'several hundreds of soldiers' of the Oxford garrison marched with colours flying and drums beating on either side of the procession through the streets of the town.

To bring derision on the Chancellor and his loings, the loyalist pamphleteers represented that he entered Oxford with such a beggarly crew of tatter-lemalions as had never before attended a chief of the university on a public occasion. For instance, Tom Barlow, of Queen's College, in his 'Pegasus, or the Flying Horse from Oxford, bringing the proceedings of the Visitors, and other Bedlamites there, by the command of the Earl of Montgomery,' giving a satirical account of the affair, wrote, 'Tuesday, April the 11th, the long-legged piece of impertinency (which they miscall Chancellor) was to be brought with

ate into Oxon. To this end these few inconsiderable and ill-faced saints hired all the hackneys in the town (which were basely bad, yet good enough for them). Out they went and met the Hoghen-loghen, I told you of. What courtship passed between them at meeting, how he swore at them, and they said grace at him; how many zealous faces and ill legs they made, and at what distance I know not: a long time they made about it. At last they met me, and the governor and his regiment meets them at Fryer Bacon's study, where you might have seen the Presbyterian and Independent agreed against the poor Christians of Oxon. In the meanwhile Thomas Smith, of Magdalen College, had an excellent design; and that he might have suitable commodation, would needs borrow an ass; nay,

an ass he would have and ride in next the chancellor: and when they told him it was a mad trick, he told them no, for he knew there would be many asses besides his. And now they came!

They came! And indeed it was such a miserable sight as I never saw. Had you seen tall Pemke in the midst of those little inspired Levites, you would have sworn you had seen Saul once more among the prophets. Along they came, with-

out any respect from those in the streets (which were not many); not a cap or knee from them, no frowns and curses; and 'twas a wonder but

that the soldiers guarded them that they had not welcomed them with old eggs and apples. Aaron Rogers, Langley, and squint-eyed Greenwood, were the chief men (what the worst were, when those were the best, you may judge), and with them about ten or twelve scholars more, fresh-men and all, only they were interlarded with some country parsons who brought their sons for fellowships, and so worshipped the beast for profit.'

Though Thomas Barlow worded his narrative so as to imply that the Chancellor's procession was headed by the malapert member of Magdalen College, riding the animal whose meanness and stubbornness and perversity were supposed to be typical of the Parliamentary government, it is almost needless to remark that Mr. Thomas Smith was not permitted to make himself ridiculous in order to draw derision on the chief of the university. The scribe's malice, however, had the desired effect on the Cavaliers of the country, who found momentary consolation for their urgent sorrows, in applauding the scholars, whose excellent design had caused the Oxonian populace to receive the long-legged Pembroke with appropriate contempt.

Nor was Mr. Smith's asinine scheme the only project for showing the chancellor in what contempt he was held by the loyal scholars. A waggish gentleman of the university had prepared for delivery

in South Street (as it was then called),—‘at Christ Church Gate, against Pembroke College,’ where a strong body of Puritan students had resolved to receive their *chancellor—the following ironical speech: ‘My Lord, you are surrounded, and lest you should be tired with civilities between Christ Church and Pembroke, I shall be plain and brief. Sir, without preface or ceremony, you are welcome to us; the genius of the place salutes you, chancellor; the severest muses smooth their brows; and all the graces begin to smile. Muses and Graces cry, “Welcome, Pembroke!” Hark! how your college sounds; the scholars learn of the buildings to echo forth your praise and welcome. Hark! how it rings again! thrice welcome, noble chancellor; welcome, Pembroke!’ The mockery of this reference to the comparative emptiness and silence of Pembroke, which had distinguished itself amongst the loyal houses by enthusiasm for the royal cause, notwithstanding its association with the name and family of the Parliamentary chancellor, would, it was hoped, raise the laughter of the bystanders and put the appointed orator of the Puritans so completely out of countenance, that he would not remember a word of the inctimonious speech which it would devolve upon him to deliver, in praise of the earl and the rebellious parliament. Should the irony of the mock-address escape detection, the mischievous students

were prepared to turn to account the cheers elicited by their misinterpreted impudence, and to put their intentions beyond the possibility of misapprehension by a still more absurd oration, which another of their party had promised to utter so soon as the applause of the 'well-affected' auditors should die out.

The second speech prepared for the annoyance of the chancellor, whose attachment to saintly men and ways had neither corrected his constitutional irritability, nor amended his habit of swearing impietously during his frequent paroxysms of rage, was composed of the following words:-- 'My Lord, I am, as your honour is, in haste, and therefore shall not be so uncivil as to detain you longer with civilities. I perceive the youths begin to kindle through all in love, yet love and joy when youths are overjoyed, are rude and boisterous. See how their caps begin to fly, and seriously but that they mean to run bare-headed whilst you are here, they would even throw away their very heads and leggs. See, yonder is an arm for joy thrown out of joint; that legg is even displaced; 'twill scarce ever find the way back to the body; but we must change our phrase and garb, and now give way to them whose prudence and gravity hath called them to present businesses of higher concernment to your saddest thoughts.'

But though the conspirators against the chancellor's peace of mind had laid their plans with considerable cleverness, and had exercised commendable forethought in providing themselves with a second oratorical piece for use in case the first should miss fire, they were disappointed in their hope of creating a ludicrous misadventure for the earl and the 'well-affected youths,' in the space between the great gate of Christ Church and the approach to Pembroke College. Shortly before the plot should have succeeded, a heavy fall of rain rescued the chancellor from the enemies who were lying in wait to destroy his mental composure. This untimely shower, which began shortly after the earl had quitted his coach for the back of a splendid charger, decided the leaders of the cavalcade to push on past Christ Church and drop from the ceremonious proceedings the pre-arranged address of the evangelical students. The conspirators, therefore, endured the mortification of seeing the odious chancellor, strongly guarded by the governor's troops, ride bravely onwards to Quatervois, where the miscreant Cheynell demonstrated the degradation of the schools, and won the applause of the Latinless rabble, by receiving the supreme governor of the university — with an English oration. Poor Antonius à Bosco speaks with natural bitterness of 'the cursed shower and soldiers,' that together prevented

to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy?' Every one allowed that the spiritually disposed Sheldon was the natural director of the affair; and taking the same view of the matter, the archbishop sent the university the very handsome donation of one thousand pounds, and recommended that Dr. Christopher Wren should be requested to prepare a design for the edifice, and put it in effect. Christopher Wren was quite willing to accept the commission: and every one approved the proposals of the future architect of St. Paul's cathedral. The first stones of the foundation of the theatre were laid in 1664 with suitable pomp, speeches, and music, by trowel-handling prelates, who performed their masonic tasks to the cordial approval of a numerous and scholarly multitude of spectators. With one exception, the enterprise was a success in all its particulars; but that one exception affected Gilbert Sheldon's pocket and fame in a very singular manner.

Of all the divines and notabilities who applauded the movement, no one thought right to follow the primate's example by contributing liberally to the fund for building. The subscription was a signal failure. In justice to the men, who were so much more lavish of fair words than of hard money, it